mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick-lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distributed among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are visited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Almost every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town.

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance.

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2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be [463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do [178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

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462 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

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178 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to

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[844] the majority of people living there. When the time comes for the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes into the house to cook and clean and look after the other children, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little "negrinho" at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

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The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

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[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*."

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

SEATS	PRICE (IN MILREIS)	OCCUPANTS	PERCENTAGE			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.3 per cent were *cafuso*.

[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against 829 *563 578 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. [443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid [152] [458] [579] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two [261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 *563 575 • 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most 798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious 621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of 743 565 the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [30] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were: